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presence. The Indian himself and everything he owns are more or less red with urucú. Whatever they take hold of turns red, as does anyone living among them. The urucú stain on an article is not conceived as dirt, but as an embellishment. Any trace of earth on prepared food is removed by scraping and washing, yet no one dreams of attempting this with the imprint of the cook's ten digits. The Indians grow irritated if civilized people voice disparaging comments about the use of urucú; any person or article reeking with the pigment is a thing of beauty. A collection of ethnographica from any Timbira tribe is marked by the varying red, brownish-red, and yellowish-red tints of urucú. Especially when fresh the pigment emits a strong odor which civilized observers identify as "stench," while it delights the Indian's nostrils no less than the red color pleases his eyes. Naturally the odor is attached to the Timbira himself and all his belongings.

In order to have the pigment constantly available the urucú shrub (pų; *Bixa orellana*) is planted beside or behind the dwelling. The red pigment, forming the thin layer of a moist mass, surrounds the seeds in their capsules. The Indians either gather fresh capsules from the shrub according to need or harvest the mature capsules, removing the seeds for storage in gourd bottles, which are plugged with stoppers. More particularly it is the young girls who always keep such bottles suspended by their beds. Men never own them since they are always painted by the other sex. After a while the pigmented mass dries on the seeds; then it is necessary to prepare the coloring matter with the oily juice of babassu seeds. The urucú seeds are poured into the hollow of the hand, the juice of the chewed babassu seeds is expectorated over them, and the mixture is rubbed between the flat palms. The pigment thus produced is removed with the finger or a little rod, either for immediate use or for storage in a little gourd bowl (pl. 14, *m*). These small urucú gourds, suspended from the back by a plaited cord, are the badge of the girl associates (p. 96), whose duty it is to paint the members of their festive organization. The pigment remains visible even after several baths.

Another mode of preparation is derived from the Guajajára: after the washing of the seeds the fluid is condensed by boiling; roundish lumps are molded from the soapy mass; and these are wrapped in leaves or cloth. However, the older generation spurn this innovation because the urucú loses its odor in boiling. Chief Kukrãčą' objected in my presence when his niece wanted to paint him with pigment thus prepared and sent her for fresh capsules.

Urucú is not only beautiful, but also useful, being credited with antiseptic (p. 50) and prophylactic virtues. Going to a pool for my morning bath before daybreak on one occasion, I met my hąpínpey, Čątú, who was about to start on a hunting trip. (See p. 100 f.) He was carrying a gourd bowl with a handful of urucú seeds, which he mixed with water; then he drank the red liquid, declaring it would give him luck in the chase. He insisted on my taking a few drafts; eagerly overruling my objection that I had no intention of going after game, he informed me that that made no difference: urucú was good for *any* purpose, it was impossible to use enough of it. Whenever I obtained urucú for my collection, I was generally admonished to employ it extensively.[38]

As a matter of fact, the effect of the red pigment on the Indian's dark skin is very agreeable, but, on a North European it is too showy. The Ponto women, however, had the contrary impression: unable to understand my wish to rid myself of my coat of urucú from time to time by washing it off with soap, they imagined that I wanted to be quickly and more effectively repainted. A man's kinswomen

[38] Nimuendajú, The Social Structure, 52.

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302 237 The upper margin of the decorated surface is marked by an obtuse angle between the shoulders, the apex lying below their level. From this boundary the decorator glues the down on the body so that it extends halfway down the forearm and lower part of the leg, leaving the genitalia free. The downless parts of the body, excepting usually the face, are reddened with urucú.

The tamhą'k do not wear the continuous down covering of others, but have, both in front and in back, two stripes the width of a hand, one on each side of the body. Each stripe extends from the clavicle or shoulder blade down to the middle of the lower leg. A somewhat narrower stripe of down is glued on the front and the back of each arm. At all joints the stripes are interrupted.

314 [137] 302 For gluing the down the Indians use the almecega rosin of *Hedwigia balsamifera*, which has a very agreeable odor. This is the only pleasant feature in the procedure, which involves the chewing of babassu seeds and spitting the oily juice on the rosin previously smeared over the palms of the hands. Rubbing the palms together produces a somewhat tough, yellow ointment, which is clapped on the subject's skin, and rubbed into it. Then another operator immediately dabs the falcon down on top. So long as the decoration is fresh the wearer looks rather attractive in his snow-white raiment of down. But soon after, especially after bathing, the covering grows very unsightly; however, its vestiges persist for over a week. Hairs, which it is true are almost lacking on the Indian skin, have a disagreeable way of adhering to one another because of the rosin, and wherever a man sits or lies down he gets stuck. I have a veritable horror of this procedure, but as a member of the tamhą'k organization am obliged to submit to it whenever I return to the tribe after a prolonged absence.

302 314 By scraping of the young leafstalks of the paty palm (*Orcus* sp.) one obtains a light pinkish-yellow wool that is stored and applied like falcon down. But while the Apinayé uniformly employ this material in place of falcon down, which is not customary among them, the Rąmkõ'kamekra restrict its use to members of the Duck society.

301 237 177 *Miscellaneous.*—Finger rings (hukrãčẽčą) are constantly worn by both sexes. Originally they were black and inconspicuous, being made of the caudal skin of the chameleon (*Iguana tuberculata*) and the teyú (*Tupinambis teguixin*). Today men and women crave silver and brass rings of European make with glass stones. Whenever possible they overload themselves with these ornaments to an unesthetic degree, or suspend them from the necklace, this consisting nowadays mostly of glass beads and some pendant, which occasionally both sexes wear from infancy to old age. However, even today the seeds of a grass (*Scleria* sp.) are fashioned into beads to be strung. In order to be able to perforate them it is necessary to grind them to a point on a whetstone at one spot. This is effected with the aid of a fragment of *Lagenaria* bowl with a little opening just large enough to have the curvature of the *Scleria* seed project somewhat when it is put on top. The worker seizes the slightly bent bowl, presses the seed on top of the hole with the tip of the index finger, and grinds off the projecting curvature.

[137] [751] Infants often also wear wrist and ankle cords with pendent bits of all sorts of wood and roots or little bones and seeds, to which medicinal virtues are ascribed. Wristbands (mepače) of babassu grass are worn by girls and young men; only the men wear bands of the same material on the upper arm and forehead, as well as knee bands of either cotton or babassu grass (pls. 3, *c*, *d*; 11, *c*, *d*).

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twigs tied together. Garbage is accumulated on the firefan or an old mat and carried to the border of the steppe, to the rear of the house. However, there are women who are not particular about a little dirt more or less, and who will leave the rinds of fruits and gnawed bones lying about all day long.

The domestic vermin include crickets, cockroaches, small ants, and jiggers. The first two are simply put up with. As for ant nests, the Indians try to destroy them with hot water; and as soon as they become aware of jiggers, they periodically pour water on the floor, which they stamp on till it grows firm. Those which have penetrated the skin are removed with a bone needle—for which at present an iron one may be substituted.

All utensils are rather dirty, for it never occurs to them to clean objects before storage. The clothing that is obligatory on visits to Barra do Corda is subsequently stowed away for one's own or another's future use without attention to the accumulated dirt and perspiration. Dishes are never washed after use, though this is done before again using them. Storage bags and sleeping mats are often filthy, though the latter are washed when the dirt grows too offensive.

The Indians go to stool in the steppe or in the mallow bushes to the rear of their houses, at an adequate distance. They clean themselves with kerneled maize cobs or with two little sticks broken off on the way. The feces of infants in the house or on the space before it are at once strewn with sand and removed.

The Canella are very sensitive as to evil smells, though they do not always perceive the same things as stench as civilized people. As noted, they regard as pleasant the odor of urucú, from which Neobrazilians recoil, and they are strangely indifferent to the odor of the skunk (*Mephitis suffocans*), which to my nostrils is the most horrible to be found in the Timbira country. However, excrements and putrefying matter are intolerable to them and are removed posthaste.

Breaking wind is considered indecorous indoors, but rather a pleasure on the steppe or in the plaza among the younger generation. Indeed, young girls sometimes vie with one another in this respect and try to enhance the effect by hitting their own buttocks with their clenched fists. However, this happens only among themselves, never in the presence of older people.

Farming

It is erroneous to picture the Gê generically as hunters and gatherers, with at best an occasional group adopting a little cultivation under Tupí influence.[109] Actually, not a single Akwẽ or Timbira-Kayapó tribe failed to farm; and as to the latter, at least, I am convinced that they learnt nothing from the Tupí about agriculture. Old travelers sometimes decree that such and such a tribe lived "only by hunting" or even "by robbery only." Thus, Saint-Adolphe alleges that the Apinayé had grown accustomed to a vegetable diet only through the plantations made by the military colony of São João de Araguaya (founded in 1797). He overlooked the passage in which Villa Real—four years prior to the establishment of that colony—urged a treaty of peace with the Apinayé on the ground of their cultivating manioc on a large scale.[110]

Following Ribeiro and Pohl, Snethlage states that the Timbira when first in contact with civilization already practiced a well-defined system of tillage and rightly surmises that the four species listed by Ribeiro do not exhaust the number of their crops. At present the Rąmkõ'kamekra plant the following species, which shall be

[109] For a typical expression of this view see Schmidt, Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Südamerika, 1023.

[110] Viagem, 409.

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inclination for such communion are called kái, and their principal function is to cure and ward off disease. Of the Pũrekamekra, Pohl writes:

Sie haben in den Pflanzen ihrer heimatlichen Wälder durch Erfahrung mehrere Heilkräuter kennen gelernt, welche sie nun bey vorkommende n Fällen anwenden. So vertreiben sie z. B. das Fieber mit einer Dorstenia fol. rodunativ. Die Syphilis, welche leider häufiger vorkommt als man vermuten sollte, ... wird blos mit häufigem Waschen behandelt. Ophthalmie zeigte sich auch sehr häufig; gegen diesen Uebel sowie gegen Schlangenbisse sollen sie auch Arcana besitzen. Zur Heilung von Wunden wird der gekaute (!) Samen der Bixa brasiliensis [= urucú] verwendet. Zauberformeln fehlen bei diesen abergläubischen Menschen natürlich ebenfalls nicht. Segenssprechungen, Zauberformeln und dergleichen werden sehr oft in ihren Krankheiten verwendet.[356]

This last method I have never witnessed.

Snethlage possibly rates Timbira medical lore too highly, but his text does not indicate which tribe he has in mind.[357] Ribeiro says:

Curam geralmente as suas enfermidades com a sangria, e com o semente de urucú: A sangria fazem-a com uma navalha de canna verde a que chamam taboca.

(In general they cure sickness by blood-letting and with urucú seeds. They let blood with a little knife of green cane called taboca.)[358]

Thus this author does not mention a blood-letting bow, as Snethlage assumes. Of all the Timbira tribes the Apinayé is the only one among whom I found this implement.

Medical lore is little developed among the Canella. The children rarely wear remedies and amulets attached to necklaces, wrist cords, or girdle cords. Since pretty nearly everyone tries his own luck at doctoring when sick, the medicine-man's role is rather subordinate. There are no pathological theories comparable to those of the Apinayé.[359] The Canella views are vacillating and confused, so that they have more confidence in Neobrazilian treatment than in their own. An enormous number of plant species yield roots, bark, and leaves for medicinal infusions, which are sometimes filtered with a wad of cotton through spirally twisted palm leaflets. During a seventeen-kilometer ride with me, Kentapí from the back of a horse pointed out some twenty steppe plants on the way and indicated their medicinal use. With such remedies, so far as I was able to learn, they attempt to cure themselves and others without following any true plan.

The manifold magico-medical application of urucú has been noted (p. 52). Another plant employed in this dual role in cases of sickness, particularly in epidemics, is the sucupira tree; the strong and odorous oil of the seeds is smelled against all conceivable diseases, especially catarrhs. Threatening epidemics are warded off by smoking oneself with the incense of the burnt green foliage of this tree or by lashing oneself with its twigs. This use rests on no medicinal virtues, but on the magical attributes of the tree, regarded by all Timbira as the symbol of strength and resistance. Another means for acquiring the toughness requisite for long begging journeys under unusual circumstances is to swallow several small grains of rolled quartz about 3 mm. in diameter from the sand of a creek.

Conjunctivitis is treated by washing the eyes with water into which the molten rosin of the jutahy tree (*Hymenaea* sp.) has been allowed to drip. Against muscular and articular pains the Indians apply an epiphyte (prĩkanyĩ'; Neobraz.: sumaré) which is steamed in hot ashes. When children at the breast fall ill, both parents drink an infusion from the bark of a steppe bush, mekakẽ're. The scraped bark of a small steppe tree called pekẽ'parkóp serves as a remedy for scabies, wounds on the ear loop, and head lice. Sometimes powdered charcoal is rubbed into

[356] Pohl, Reise, 2:197.
[357] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 185.
[358] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 16.
[359] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 144 *et seq.*